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ABSTRACT

As jazz music found its way onto the public agenda between 1921 and 1929 the "New York Times" became a major forum for the controversy surrounding the new music form. Although jazz was played mostly by black musicians, this fact was seldom reflected in the newspaper's stories, and the specter of racism loomed just beneath the surface of the accounts. In the early 1920s most of the prominent citizens who spoke out against jazz were quoted at length, but opposing views and context were absent. By 1922, the "Times" reflected the reality that, despite vigorous opposition, jazz was becoming more popular. A sense of musical territoriality surfaced--musical "purists" objected to jazz's eclecticism and borrowing from classical and popular music. By the mid-1920s articles were longer and more balanced, and the important theme of music as an expression of national pride had emerged. Articles in the "Times" reflected the struggle to find music that captured the national spirit, and jazz was a candidate--especially the symphonic jazz of Paul Whiteman and George Gershwin. Jazz became increasingly popular overseas as well, and during the middle 1920s the paper reported from many foreign capitals on the origins of jazz, the restrictions on it imposed by foreign governments, and even the respect that it was gaining abroad. By 1929, after nearly a decade of reporting about jazz that was more negative than positive, the "Times" recognized the inescapable fact that jazz was an American musical product and the country's most valuable musical export. (Fifty-nine footnotes and 10 pages of newspaper sources are appended.) (NKA)

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THE REAL JAZZ JOURNALISM: NEW YORK TIMES COVERAGE OF AN EMERGING ART FORM (1921-1929)

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THE REAL JAZZ JOURNALISM: NEW YORK TIMES COVERAGE
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The emergence of jazz music in the 1920's was greeted with bitter debate on an international scale. New York City, because of its size, location, and socio-cultural factors, was a natural fulcrum for two opposing musical influences: the European classical tradition and indigenous jazz. As jazz found its way onto the public agenda, the New York Times became a major forum for the controversy. This paper seeks to discuss and evaluate coverage devoted to that controversy. The paper covers the years 1921 to 1929; the former year marked the introduction of jazz to the general public, while the latter year represented the decline of public denunciation of jazz.

Jazz is America's most highly developed and most respected musical idiom. Although the musical traditions of Europe and Africa were vital precursors, the unique relationship among musical elements (rhythm, harmony, melody, and timbre) that is jazz did not develop on either continent.[1] Neither did jazz exist before the 20th Century. During World War I, jazz was a folk music indigenous to New Orleans and its environs, played by at most a few hundred

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musicians, with an audience made up mostly of poor black working people. By 1920 jazz was widely known and imitated throughout the United States. Ten years later, it had developed not only an audience but players in most of the major cities in Europe.[2]

In the first few decades of its development, jazz was played mostly for black audiences by black musicians who recognized it as their original product. A profoundly personal music, it has never enjoyed more than a modest popularity.[3] Yet, variant forms of jazz did at times intermingle with the popular music of the dominant culture. The result was music that was a compromise, played by blacks and whites, and that, much to the chagrin of some musicians and critics, still bore the name "jazz." In the 1920's two factors combined to catapault this music to fad status in the United States and Europe: the dance boom and the rise of the phonograph as a mass medium.[4]

Since that decade, New York City has been perhaps the most vibrant mecca for jazz. As the center for the hiring, publicizing, and recording of jazz musicians, the city has hosted nearly every important figure in jazz at some time in his or her career, with few exceptions.[5] To the people of New York in the 1920's, the Times was a vital source of information and understanding about the pervasive new music called "jazz."

Four research questions were addressed: (1) What major qualitative and quantitative changes took place in the reporting of jazz in the years studied? (2) What role did

the Times ascribe to blacks in the development of jazz? (3) What were the dominant themes in the accounts? (4) What patterns of inclusion or exclusion of viewpoints can be detected in the reports? The New York Times was the source of the evidence. The report, editorial, or feature story was the unit of analysis. Articles on jazz were located using the New York Times Index for the years 1921 to 1929 (inclusive) and content analysed.

In the years immediately following World War I, the United States faced mounting moral and social problems. Ideals were being vigorously challenged, and jazz was strongly associated with the new iconoclasm.[6] In 1921 readers of the New York Times were exposed to vehement assaults upon jazz by church and state. The clergy blamed jazz for a host of unseemly behaviors including fornication, suicide, and alcohol abuse. In a pathetic combination of report and exaggeration, the Times printed that jazz had driven one musician to suicide.[7] At least one church parish officially banned jazz from all church functions.[8] The term "jazz" was applied indiscriminately to manners and morals as well as music and dancing. In fact, its influence was widely believed to have spread to other areas of life, and jazz became synonymous with all social ills, even seemingly unrelated ones. A statement by the Reverend Percy S. Grant reported in the Times typifies this extremism:

> It is "jazz" when the police on the orders of a priest, invade a public meeting and stop it; it is "jazz" when a representative of the Mayor stops a hearing on this happening.[9]

Although jazz was performed mostly by blacks, that fact was seldom reflected in the Times' stories. The paper portrayed jazz more as bad music than black music. Its readers probably knew from personal experience or word of mouth that blacks played jazz, and there was no need for the Times to compromise journalistic integrity by belaboring the point. While seldom overt, the spectre of racism loomed just beneath the surface of many of the accounts. For example, one clergyman remarked that jazz harkened back to the African jungle, a statement which evoked powerful images of racial confusion and bestial behaviors.[10]

The Times reported efforts of authority figures to protect the nation's youth from jazz's nefarious influence. A school superintendent in Missouri proposed that jazz be legislated against as liquor had been.[11] In the early 1920's most of the prominent citizens who spoke out against jazz were quoted at length, their fiery rhetoric obviating commentary. Lack of context and the absence of opposing views on the controversy surrounding jazz marred the Times' coverage.

By 1922 the Times reflected the reality that despite vigorous opposition, jazz was becoming more popular. The new music seemed to fulfill a need which other forms of popular and classical music had failed to address. One article called for popular songs outside the jazz idiom to adopt qualities that "awaken a sincere response in the hearts of the people."[12] The article

illustrates what author Neil Leonard called the "fight evil with good" approach to jazz.[13]

The concept of "artistic property" is crucial to understanding the debates about jazz. As the stories began to emphasize musical rather than moral or social themes, a sense of musical territoriality surfaced. The reports expressed the persistent belief of musical conservatives that music was the discrete, inviolable property of its practitioners and patrons. Such thinking runs counter to the idea of cross-fertilization in the arts. Having no specialized repertoire of their own, jazz players commandeered an alien repertoire from the familiar classical and popular songs of the day, a practice which enraged many musical "purists." Many articles in the 20's addressed the issue of the eclecticism of jazz, and one in particular adopted an legal perspective. In "Drawing a Line for Jazz" Richard Aldrich viewed the appropriation of musical material as infringements on copyright and on the public domain.[14] He suggested that offenders be prosecuted but acknowledged limits to that approach where jazz was concerned:

> . . . It is perfectly possible to prevent the publication of jazzed versions. But publication is not necessary to the experts. They are largely extemporaneous performers: a kind of "improvisatore." One publisher has wearily confessed that he might as well try to stop Niagra. . . . How can you legally prevent a man from playing a piece the way his fancy or interest dictates?"[15]

Aldrich advocated stylistic integrity in all forms of music, a view which led him to defend songs of blacks as

well as the European classics against incursions by jazz musicians. He joined the New York Age, "an organ of the colored race," in protesting the jazz rendering of the Negro spiritual "Deep River."[16]

By the mid 1920's the jazz controversy was becoming less interesting to those persons who followed it only for its moral and social import. The Times began to interview famous musicians, their comments and criticisms being more pointed and cogent than those of the blustery clerics. Articles were generally longer and more balanced than had been the case a few years before. One important theme that emerged was music as an expression of national pride. The acceptance of American music in the international community was highly prized. Articles in the Times reflected a struggle to find music that captured the national spirit.

Whether jazz was or would become that music became a torrid topic of discussion. Conservative American musicians favored what they called "art music," and articles in the Times show that they believed art music and jazz to be two different forms.[17] On February 12, 1924 symphonic jazz bandleader Paul Whiteman gave a concert at the Palace in New York in which he hoped to bridge the perceived gap between art music and jazz. He was concerned with removing the stigma attached to jazz. For Whiteman, jazz was "a great deal more than savage rhythm from the jungle."[18]

He commissioned George Gershwin to compose and perform "Rhapsody in Blue" to show the extent to which jazz had evolved. Still, critics were not satisfied that the new

music was the much needed national product they sought. Times writer Olin Downes acknowledged that the songsmiths and performers of Gershwin's ilk were crafting more meaningful works than America's so-called "serious" composers.[19] But he hastened to add that the formal trappings and pageantry far exceeded the quality of the music.

The reader of Downes' column was made to feel optimistic about the potential of jazz composers. Jazz musicians, on the other hand, were a contemptible breed apart. They were excluded from his vision of a new national expression in music. Clearly, for Downes there were two types of jazz: the kind fit for the concert hall and the kind that should be confined to the poorer sections of town. Since these types of jazz were neatly distinguishable along racial lines, what the classification amounted to was white jazz and black jazz.

A 1924 article featured comments by the director of the Metropolitan Opera Company and a classical pianist.[20] The former was a supporter of jazz, the latter a bitter opponent. The incorporation of both sides into a single article marked a first for the Times' coverage of jazz. Nevertheless, the story was preferentially titled "Pettis Differs with Kahn," a fact that, by virtue of the opponent of jazz being named first, may have influenced readers. In addition, like most of the other "balanced" articles in the Times on jazz, the negative side was presented first.

Long after voices in favor of jazz had become commonplace, the Times continued to rely heavily upon the

kind of simplistic, provocative reporting that marked the early twenties. The paper continued to emphasize the non-musical aspects of jazz after the critics and musicians had shifted to technical and aesthetic concerns. For example, in 1925 an article appeared characterizing the jazz controversy as a battle for minds and souls. In a speech delivered in New York, Professor H. Augustine Smith said that "jazz music, jazz pictures, jazz thinking" posed severe threats to modern civilization.[21] He suggested that churches incorporate "dramatization" and "pageantry" into their liturgy in order to keep young people from defecting to jazz for their thrills. The Times identified Smith as a professor of Fine Arts at Boston University but listed no specific musical or religious credentials. Moreover, the article did not give the occasion for the speech. The Times had misused an appeal to authority in order to advance its conservative views on jazz.

A more credible use of authority came later that year when the Times reported a local musician's plan to open a school for jazz music instruction.[22] Orchestra leader Roger Wolfe Kahn's purpose in founding the school was not to enoble jazz as a subject worthy of artistic consideration or academic study, but rather to rehabilitate traditional musicians who had been displaced and disillusioned by the jazz craze. The upshot of the article was that education could be used to combat the harmful effects of jazz upon classically trained musicians.

Musical conservatives of the day regarded classical composers as rarefied and insulated from the pragmatic concerns that had forced many musicians to take note of jazz. The Times reflected that perception in an article criticizing the modern classical composer Igor Stravinsky for relying on a rhythmic concept reminiscent of jazz's "savage tom tom."[23] The story portrayed jazz as below the standards by which one would judge sounds to be musical.

In 1926 the phrase "School Outlaws Jazz as Travesty on Music" was emblazoned on a front page of the Times as the first part of a headline.[24] Yet, most of the article dealt with administrative proscriptions against lewd dancing, alcoholic beverages, and visitations by unseemly characters at school functions.

As jazz came to be regarded more as an approach to music and a type of music rather than a set of attitudes or behaviors, this kind of firebrand journalism became increasingly inadequate in satisfying growing public interest in jazz. The Times responded with longer articles and more critical pieces beginning in the mid-1920's. Still, coverage was hindered by imprecise concepts and deep-seated biases.[25]

Evidence of the shift toward viewing jazz as music could be seen as early as February, 1926 when the Times reported the questionable results of a survey on radio listening. New York's station WJZ asked some of its listeners a wide range of questions about their programming preferrences, only one area of which had to do with music

programming.[26] The most highly touted finding was that classical music was more popular than jazz. Readers who accepted that claim did so on faith since only the percentage of respondents listing classical music as their favorite was given. Despite the egregious lack of detail and support, that finding monopolized the story's subtitle which read, in part, "Classical Music 33 Per Cent. More Popular Than Jazz."[27]

In April, 1926 Irving Berlin, a popular songwriter, inveighed against jazz on musical grounds in a brief article.[28] He thought jazz was dying and that people were turning to songs of "feeling and sentiment." The Times did not adduce any evidence in support of Berlin's statement. Although it was of little value journalistically, the remark was useful in advancing the Times' hidebound policy toward jazz. That the statement was made during one of Berlin's sojourns in London and in reference to London audiences was significant. England and Europe were major influences on American taste in music, so one of the most effective ways to discredit jazz at home was to report English disapproval.

Two months later, the Times used a variation of the same tactic when it reported on its front page that an elderly European cornetist had fallen dead upon hearing jazz bands. The story told of the death of Nicola Coviello while he was walking on the Boardwalk on Coney Island with a relative he was visiting:

> The blare of bands nearby sounded above all the other noises. The old man raised his hands to his ears, shook his head as if distressed and looked appealingly at Peter, the eldest of his nephews. "That isn't music," he said shaking his head. Peter started to laugh. "It's jazz," he said, and hardly had he uttered the words when he sprang toward the old man to prevent his falling. He was too late. Mr. Coviello had sunk to the Boardwalk. He was unconscious and a few minutes later . . . he had died because of a strain on his heart.[29]

Another article told of tenants who planned to sue the City of New York if jazz bands continued to rob them of their sleep. The story was not about jazz, but rather disturbing the peace. Obviously, any type of music played loudly in the early morning hours would have had the same effect. The Times over-emphasized the jazz aspect of the story with a front page title that included the phrase, "Jazz Keeps Them from 'a Wink of Sleep'."[30]

While news of that type was subjecting jazz to ridicule, a more serious debate was shaping up in the Times' back pages. The themes of nationalism and, inevitably, racism were gaining prominence in the jazz controversy. One article in 1926 underscored the racial eclecticism of jazz, featuring research which resolved, at least to the satisfaction of the article's writer, questions of its origins and essence. According to the analysis, jazz contained many elements characteristic of Western music, but it owed its distinctiveness to African elements.[31] Researcher Nicholas Ballanta concluded that the African influence had enriched American music, observing, " Jazz has done this for you: it has developed the American sense of rhythm."[32] This statement must have seemed odd to readers accustomed to the

idea that composers and performers of the mainstream culture had civilized the jazz musician's raw product. Although the Times had been covering the jazz controversy for more than five years, Ballanta's statements represented the first reported from a non-white.

Since December, 1925, reports from foreign capitals had offered new perspectives on the jazz controversy. Discussions tended to be more open and direct than in the United States, and they centered on pragmatic problems accompanying the diffusion of a new cultural product.

Some Germans, for example, emphasized the racial origins of jazz. Siegfried Wagner, son of the famous composer, decried the spreading of "nigger rhythms" all over his native land.[33] The Times assailed Wagner not for his racism but for his apparent ingnorance of the extent to which white composers had "improved" jazz. To the extent that blacks were identified with the music, they were depicted negatively. An article appearing in June, 1926 reported the ousting of three black jazz musicians from the University of Paris for encouraging styles of dancing other than classical and Greek.[34]

Jazz was blamed for an unfavorable balance of trade between Hungary and the United States. American jazz bands were flooding Budapest, while Hungarian bands floundered abroad. In a move designed to encourage native practitioners of "the noisy art" the Hungarian government ordered a ban on foreign jazz bands.[35] The Times reported similar restrictions imposed by the French, British, and Italian governments.[36]

In Bulgaria the princess' charity ball marked the occasion for a challenge to royal authority as guests refused to dance to the sanctioned strains of waltzes and national songs. Begrudgingly, Princess Eudoxia yielded to her guests' requests for American jazz, in what the Times characterized as a setback in Bulgaria's escalating war against immorality.[37] Like the Bulgarians, the English strongly identified jazz with a type of dancing. The addition of jazz to a weekly outdoor program of American music met with such unparalleled popularity and enthusiasm that the British government threatened to institute a curfew to restore order.[38] The Times' early reports on jazz in foreign countries did not discuss the music itself but only certain of its putative effects.

On the last day of 1926, jazz burst upon the American consciousness with new urgency as the result of an international incident. An American dancer named Pilcer ,who was popular with Parisian audiences, outraged a sizeable segment of them when he, his brother, and his sister began dancing to a jazz version of the French national anthem, the "Marseillaise."[39] The incident was reported on the front page of the Times and recounted two days later in a scathing editorial. Diatribes extended to the growing practice among jazz musicians of applying their methods to the works of classical composers. None of these criticisms was surprising or unusual. What was different was that they were directed at jazz as music rather than as morals or manners. The central issue was not one of licentious behavior, economic

displacement, youth corruption, rebellious attitudes, or savage barbarism; it was one of musical taste and the conflict of two aesthetics. The Pilcer incident was an important turning point in the way the Times reported and discussed jazz. After 1926, it became clear to musicians, critics, the Times, its readers, and the general public that jazz was a form of music, if albeit a low form, and that if any of its values were to survive the onslaughts, they would be musical ones.

In the mid 1920's jazz was gaining respect abroad faster than at home. The Times printed a story describing how jazz had become a major musical movement in France and was influencing painting, history, and writing as well.[40] The music was legitimated by a group of composers interviewed by M. Phillipe Pares. News about an innovative German opera appeared in the Times' pages in 1927. Composer Kurt Weill called his "The Royal Palace," an example of the effect of jazz upon opera.

To be sure, there was no unanimity of opinion in foreign countries on the merits of jazz, and the Times did not miss the opportunity to print a story on Italy's displeasure with the inroads the new music was making on its venerable opera establishment. The newspaper devoted more column inches to that story than to its typical journalistic jabs of previous years. Jazz was said to be ruining the tastes and voices of fledgling vocalists (especially tenors), thereby endangering the supply for Italy as well as America.[41] Sir Henry Coward voiced sentiments that had been

tacit when, in a Times story in 1927, he urged the white races of the world to eschew jazz if they wished to maintain their prestige.[42]

World interest in jazz reached a peak in 1927 when delegates of the League of Nations met to discuss it. A small editorial was dedicated to the event, featuring remarks by the delegates peppered with snide commentary. The Times writer had the poor taste to mock a statement by the former Premier of France, expressing the hope that jazz might be made a "valuable instrument for peace."[43] Toward the end of the editorial, the writer admitted that after the craze for novelty and variety had passed, a valuble residue of popular songs enriched by the "difficult broken rhythms" would remain.[44]

It is interesting to note that while Europe, the cradle of classicism, was forging a new musical tradition that included jazz, American musical conservatives were stubbornly clinging to the older European tradition. The Times pursued its crusade against jazz with as much vigor after the widespread international attention as it had before.

Stories denouncing the jazzing of classical compositions continued. In December, 1927, an editorial was dedicated to the subject. Although both jazz musicians and jazz composers routinely altered the classics, only the musicians were denounced. It was assumed that composers like Gershwin and Richard Rodgers knew what they were doing since they were conversant with the classical tradition.[45] The jazz

musicians, however, were for the most part formally untrained in music and were said to know nothing of the classics' "noble appeal."[46] Thus, the Times held a double standard with respect to altering the classics: only the jazz composers, most of whom were white, could do so with impunity.

In 1928, people in Germany were deeply concerned about the inroads jazz was making, and comments by several of that country's most respected music educators appeared in the Times. An article deceptively titled "Jazz Bitterly Opposed in Germany" presented a wide range of opinions.[47] It opened with a statement by Director Sekles which the writer called "startling." Sekles declared that jazz was worthy of serious academic study not just by reason of its popularity, but for aesthetic reasons as well. He also addressed the undercurrent of racism that hindered the acceptance of jazz by the white race, stating:

> An infusion of negro blood can do no harm. It will help to develop a wholesome sense of rhythm, which after all constitutes the life element of music.[48]

In Austria in 1928, the tables of taste were being turned with an operetta by Emmerich Kalman titled "The Dutchess of Chicago." Its debut and reception by Austrian audiences was reported in the Times. The writer expressed dismay at Kalman's bold appropriation of traditional Austrian songs for the potpourri of waltzes, old airs, and jazz tunes that comprised his operetta. He remarked that Kalman's jazz tunes were better than his non-jazz ones. That observation showed that foreign composers and performers were not just curious about jazz; they were

writing and practicing it with increasing proficiency. The article also mentioned that Kalman was "studying jazz seriously."[49] The study and research of jazz became a prominent theme in articles in the Times in the late 1920's.

In 1928 the French boldly staked a claim to jazz, saying that it originated in their old music.[50] The Times reported research by French author and critic Fortunat Strowski which purported to show that Southern negroes, the descendents of slaves who served old French masters, appropriated the melodies of the "motherland" for their jazz:

> The negroes, . . . have a highly developed sense of rhythm, exemplified in the weird tom-tom music of the African forests. At the same time, . . . they haven't the slightest gift of melody, except in imitation. Their simple solution was to graft their tom-tom rhythm upon the tunes of the early Frenchmen. The result was jazz.[51]

Strowski's explanation smacks of simplicity and smugness, but at least it represents an honest attempt to grapple with the disturbing question of the origins of the strange music that was taking his country by storm.

In 1928 the Times strategy concerning jazz was to drive a wedge as deep as possible between the "respectable" kind and the kind played by most musicians. As regards the first type, a jazz elite consisting of such luminaries as Gershwin and Whiteman emerged. Times writer Olin Downes described these practitioners of symphonic jazz as "first class musicians who specialize in an artistic and often exquisite manner of playing popular American music."[52] Moderate writers such as Downes did not consider this sophisticated type of

jazz to be the vanguard of a new musical tradition. Instead, they harbored hopes that the new music could make a meaningful addition to the classical pantheon.[53] Favorable comments about jazz often bespoke genuflecting to European classical models. For example, Downes remarked that in the hands of certain musicians, jazz elements have "nothing that should prevent them from marrying into the proud old family of the concertos and the symphonies."[54]

The second type was depicted in stories that ridiculed jazz or made fallacious appeals to the readers. For example, Walter Damrosch, conductor of the New York Philharmonic Symphony and arbiter of musical taste, portrayed jazz as a nuisance.[55] Even more degrading was an article appearing in November, 1928 titled "Jazz Frightens Bears." It described the efforts of a Siberian town to ward off unfriendly visitors:

> At the first word that the bears are coming to town, the entire village becomes a tin pan orchestra. Buckets, skillets, and samovar funnels are pressed into service and the earsplitting racket drives the bears away. This mechanical symphony might be called the Hungry Bears Blues.[56]

In 1928, Whiteman gave an influential jazz concert at the Palace in New York, the first since news of the music's rise in popularity abroad. The write-up in the Times was primarily informational, but interspersed with biased commentary. The writer expressed disappointment in the quality of the music, but he was optimistic that jazz performances would rise to greater aesthetic heights in the future.[57] The article contained evidence of more serious treatment of jazz in the Times, as each tune was listed and

full performing credits given for the orchestra.

The final year of the 1920's saw jazz rise meteorically in international prestige. As a challenge to French claims to jazz and to their irrepressible enthusiasm, Americans began to take more pride in their distinctive musical product. The development is illustrated in the title of an article in the Times, "French Find Our Jazz Too Soul-Disturbing."[58] This claim to ownership and its attendant hint of pride, of course, violated the spirit of nearly a decade of reportage about jazz as an embarrassing plague. It did, however, recognize the inescapable fact that jazz was an American musical product and this country's most valuable musical export. In April, 1929 the death knell was sounded not for jazz but for the controversy surrounding it in an article in the Times recounting the European travels of Sandor Harmati, Director of the Omaha Symphony. He said that jazz, which was played in the great cities as well as the small villages, was the only American music known by the European generation of that day.[59] It appeared that jazz had arrived to stay.

Conclusion

The New York Times adopted a conservative posture in covering the jazz controversy from 1921 to 1929. The newspaper saw jazz primarily as a destabilizing influence, and it interwove journalistic conventions with biases designed to preserve accepted ideals and traditions. As the decade progressed, the length of stories increased, and

attention focused less on morals and manners and more on aesthetic concerns. Articles tended to communicate racism implicitly rather than explicitly. Societal conventions and journalistic standards may have conspired to keep racial undercurrents suppressed. Spokesmen for the jazz controversy tended to shift from general authority figures to musical experts, but at no time were common jazz musicians admitted to the debates in the Times. Therefore, an important perspective on the jazz controversy is not represented in its pages and awaits further research.

The outlook of a mass medium on an emerging popular movement does not always reflect public sentiment. For example, this research indicates that the Times lagged behind many of its readers in accepting jazz. Studies involving other specific artistic, social, political, or economic movements may show the media leading, keeping pace with, or trailing public opinion. Since the media are believed to cater to the tastes of their readers or audiences, such studies may be useful for identifying organizational biases or weaknesses in media performance or for pinpointing preferred segments of general readerships or audiences.

ENDNOTES

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[2]James Lincoln Collier, The Making of Jazz (New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1978), p. 3.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Ibid., p. 78.

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[6]Neil Leonard. Jazz and the White Americans. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), p.30.

[7]"Musician Driven to Suicide by Jazz: Wouldn't Play It, Couldn't Get Employment," New York Times, 7 April 1922, p. 1.

[8]"Both Jazz Music and Jazz Dancing Barred from All Louisville Episcopal Churches," New York Times, 19 September 1921, p. 17.

[9]"Rector Calls Jazz National Anthem," New York Times, 30 January 1922, p. 11.

[10]"Primitive, Savage Animalism, Preacher's Analysis of Jazz," New York Times, 3 March 1922, p. 15.

[11]"Wants Legislation to Stop Jazz as an Intoxicant," New York Times, 12 February 1922, p. 1.

[12]"Will [sic.] War on Jazz with Better Songs, New York Times, 14 October 1922, p. 16.

[13]Leonard, White Americans, pp. 42-43.

[14]Richard Aldrich. "Drawing a Line for Jazz," New York Times, 10 December 1922, sec. 8, p. 4.

[15]See, for example: "A Subject of Serious Study," New York Times, 11 August 1924; "Concerning Modern American Music," New York Times, 23 November 1924, sec.8, p. 6.

[16]Ibid.

[17]Ibid.

[18]Leonard, White Americans, pp. 79-80.

[19]"Concerning Modern American Music," New York Times, 23 November 1924, sec. 8, p. 6.

[20]"Pettis Differs With Kahn," New York Times, 14 November 1924, p. 16.

[21]"Condemns Age of Jazz," New York Times, 27 January 1925, p. 12.

[22]"Kahn to Open Jazz School," New York Times, 2 September 1925, p. 21.

[23]"Stravinsky as a `Superman of Jazz' is Local Commentator's View," New York Times, 3 May 1925, sec. 8, p. 6.

[24]"School Outlaws Jazz As Travesty on Music; Dance Admissions Restricted in Fall River," New York Times, 11 January 1926, p. 1.

[25]See, for example: "Jazz a State of Mind," New York Times, 2 April 1925. p. 23; "Jazz Hymns Draw Fire," New York Times, 2 August 1925, p. 25; "Postpones Hymn Program," New York Times, 3 August 1925, p. 18; "Rufuses to Decide Jazz Is a Nuisance," New York Times, 29 October 1925, p. 11.

[26]"Radio Fans Likes and Dislikes Revealed by Questionnaires," New York Times, 21 February 1926, p. 17.

[27]Ibid.

[28]"Berlin Says Jazz Is Dying," New York Times, 15 April 1926, p. 14.

[29]"Cornetist to Queen Victoria Falls Dead on Hearing Our Coney Island Jazz Bands," New York Times, 14 June 1926, p. 1.

[30]"Tenants May Sue to Close Noisy Night Clubs; Say Jazz Keeps Them From `a Wink of Sleep'," New York Times, 7 November 1926, p. 1.

[31]"American Jazz Is Not African," New York Times, 19 September 1926, sec. 10, p. 8.

[32]Ibid.

[33]"S. Wagner Attacks Jazz," New York Times, 7 December 1925, p. 19.

[34]"Jazz at the Sorbonne," New York Times, 20 June 1926, sec. 8, p. 2.

[35]"Hungary Protects Home Jazz by Barring Foreign Bands," New York Times, 1 December 1925, p. 2.

[36]See, for example: "Ben Bernie Indignant at British Exclusion," New York Times, 24 July 1926, p. 3; "Home-Made Jazz for Italy," New York Times, 16 July 1926, p. 3; Specht Urges Ban on Foreign Artists," New York Times, 24 March 1926, p. 5.

[37]"Jazz Wins in Sofia," New York Times, 2 February 1926, p. 2.

[38]See: "Sunday Jazz for London," New York Times, 5 June 1925, p. 20; "Jazz Concert in Public Park on Sunday Stirs Up London," New York Times, 10 June 1925, p. 1; "Score Armistice Day Jazz," New York Times, 8 November 1925, p. 2; "Welch Invoke Curfew Law as One Way to Stop Jazz," New York Times, 7 March 1926, sec. 8, p. 17.

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